

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-16 EA-11 EUR-25 NEA-14 RSC-01 ISO-00

CIAE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-11 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04

PRS-01 SP-03 SS-20 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CCO-00 OMB-01 ACDA-19 DRC-01 /172 W

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FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4793

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

USMISSION NATO IMMEDIATE

USDOCOSOUTH IMMEDIATE UNN

SECDEF IMMEDIATE UNN

USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR TU IMMEDIATE UNN

CONSIXTHFLT IMMEDIATE UNN

CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK IMMEDIATE UNN

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE UNN

USNMR SHAPE BE IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

USLO PEKING IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2516

DEPT PASS SECRETARY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC PFOR CY TU GR

SUBJ: CYPRUS IN SC: JULY 20 DEBATE

SUMMARY: JULY 20 SC DEBATE FOLLWOING NUNANIMOUS ADOPTION OF CYPRUS

RES WAS GENERALLY RESTRAINED AND UNEMOTIONAL. USSR

DIRECTED ITS MAIN FIRE AGAINST GREECE. IT MENTIONED NATO ONLY

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IN SECOND BRIEF STATEMENT, AND DID NOT ATTACK TURKEY. IN FACT,

TURKEY EMERGED FROM DEBATE RELATIVELY UNSCRATCHED, ONLY VIGOROUS OPPOSITION COMING FROM GREEK DEL. END SUMMARY

1. NATO MEMBERS OF COUNCIL, UK, US, AND FRANCE, WERE FIRST THREE SPEAKERS. (AMB SCALI'S STATEMENT TRANSMITTED SEPTTEL). UK PERMREP RICHARD SAID BRITISH WERE CONSCIOUS THERE WERE SOME MISGIVINGS THAT OPERATIVE PARAGRAPH CALLING FOR NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN GUARANTOR POWERS WAS HIGH HANDED SINCE IT SEEMED TO SUGGEST THAT INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF CYPRUS SHOULD BE SETTLED BY SOMEONE OTHER THAN PEOPLE OF CYPRUS. ON CONTRARY, BRITISH INTENTION WAS TO "KEEP IN CLOSE TOUCH" WITH PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS. UK'S VIEWS ON STATUS OF ARCHBISHOP MAKARIOS AS PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS WERE UNEQUIVOCAL. BRITISH HOPED THAT DISCUSSION COULD AT APPROPRIATE TIME BE RESUMED EITHER IN INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS OR THROUGH SOME OTHER SUTIALBEL ARRANGEMENT. RICHARD CONCLUDED THAT AGREEMENT BETWEEN

"PROPERLY APPOINTED REPRESENTATIVES" OF TWO COMMUNITIES WAS ESSENTIAL TO JUST AND PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF CYPRUS' AFFAIRS.

2. FRENCH REP DE GUIRINGAUD SAID HIS GOVT BELIEVED TURKISH INVASION MIGHT HAVE BEEN AVERTED IF GREEK NATIONAL GUARD OFFICERS HAD BEEN WITHDRAWN AFTER COUP. ON PART OF EC NINE HE READ POLICY STATEMENT COVERING FOLLOWING POINTS: A) SUPPORT FOR UK INITIATIVE TO GATHER GUARANTOR POWERS IN LONDON, B) URGING INTERESTED PARTIES, PARTICULARLY GREECE AND TURKEY, TO TAKE ALL MEASURES TO PREVENT WIDENED HOSTILITIES AND C) SUPPORT FOR RESTORATION OF CONSTITUTIONAL GOVT IN CYPRUS, WHICH EXCLUDED CONTINUATION IN POWER OF PRESENT DE FACTO REGIME.

3. FIRST SOVIET STATEMENT WAS REMARKABLE FOR ITS RESTRAINT. NATO WAS NOT CHARGED WITH COMPLICITY, NOR WAS THERE SINGLE REFERENCE TO TURKEY IN ENTIRE SPEECH. (LATER RIGHT OF REPLY INCORPORATED VARIOUS MOSCOW STATEMENTS, AND WAS CONSIDERABLY STRONGER. SEE PARA 5 BELOW). SOVIET FIRE WAS DIRECTED ALMOST ENTIRELY AGAINST GREECE, WHICH USSR SAID HAD NO BUSINESS CALLING COUNCIL WHEN IT WAS ATHENS WHICH FIRST COMMITTED AGGRESSION. USSR SAID IT COULD VOTE FOR RESOLUTION SINCE IT SATISFIED TWO MAIN REQUIREMENTS: IT RECOGNIZED NEED FOR END TO MILITARY INTERVENTION AND REQUESTED WITHDRAWAL OF GREEK NATIONAL GUARD

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OFFICERS. COMMENT: IN THEIR ACTIONS AND THEIR STATEMENT, SOVIETS SEEMED TO HAVE TWO OBJECTIVES: A) TO GAIN FAVOR WITH ANKARA BY SLOWING CALL FOR CEASEFIRE AND LAYING ENTIRE BLAME ON GREECE AND B) TO CONTINUE TO POSE AS ARCHBISHOP'S BEST FRIEND. WE DOUBT SOVIETS MADE IMPORTANT POLITICAL GAINS WITH EITHER CAMP. TURKISH MINISTER, FOR EXAMPLE, TOLD US HIS DELEGATION WAS UNCOMFORTABLE WITH SOVIET SUPPORT, BUT WOULD TAKE HELP WHERE IT COULD FIND IT TO DELAY CEASEFIRE UNTIL TURKISH MILITARY

POSITION WAS CONSOLIDATED. AOTHOUGH CYPRUS PERMREP ROSSIDES WORKED CLOSELY WITH SOVIETS, WASHINGTON AMB DIMITRIOU TOLD US HE RECOGNIZED US/UK CALL FOR IMMEDIATE CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS BY GUARANTOR POWERS WAS MOST REALISTIC WAY OF PRESERVING CYPRUS' INDEPENDENCE. END COMMENT

4. AFTER BRIEF STATEMENTS BY IRAQ AND CAMEROON CHINA GAVE CHARACTERISTIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT FOR CYPRUS IN FACE OF IMPERIALIST AGGRESSION. CYPRUS COUP WAS ONE EXAMPLE OF "SUPERPOWERS STIRRING UP TROUBLE ALL OVER THE WORLD." CHINA EXPRESSED RESERVATIONS ON PARAS CONCERNING UNFICYP.

5. AFTER REMAINING SC MEMBERS SPOKE (THEIR STATEMENTS BEING TRANSMITTED BY UNCLASSIFIED SUMMARY), FIRST INTERVENTION WAS BY USSR AMB SAFRONCHUK WHO READ SOVIET GOVERNMENT STATEMENT, CLEARLY ON INSTRUCTIONS. USSR STATEMENT CHARGED "CERTAIN MEMBERS OF NATO" WITH HAVING SUPPORTED "PUTSCHISTS" AND OF MAKING NO STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT MAKARIOS. STATEMENT CONTINUED THAT TURKISH GOVT HAD UNDERTAKEN ACTION ONLY AFTER IT WAS PERSUADED THAT ALL PEACEFUL MEANS OF SETTLING CONFLICT HAD BEEN EXHAUSTED. SITUATION URGENTLY CALLED FOR EARLY AND EFFECTIVE MEASURES.

6. AMB SCALI REPLIED BRIEFLY TO SAFRONCHUK FOR NATO DELS. HE SAID SOVIET CHARGE OF NATO COLLUSION WAS "A CURIOUS RECURRING NIGHTMARE." ALONG WITH UK, US HAD CONTRIBUTED TO POSSIBILITY OF NEGOTIATIONS IN LONDON FOR PURPOSE OF RESTORING PEACE AND SECURITY ON ISLAND--AN ACT WHICH CONTRADICTED SOVIET CHARGE.

7. FIRST OF PARTIES TO SPEAK WAS CYPRUS AMB ROSSIDES. ROSSIDES SAID INTERVENTION AND AGGRESSION HAD NOW BEEN COMMITTED BY TWO OF GUARANTORS OF CYPRUS. HE CONSIDERED CONFIDENTIAL

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PARTITION WOULD BE GREATEST CALAMITY THAT COULD BEFALL A COUNTRY, AND WAS PLEASED THAT ALL COUNCIL MEMBERS HAD SUPPORTED INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF CYPRUS. DRAFT RES COVERED ESSENTIAL REQUIREMENTS OF THE SITUATION.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4794

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CINCUSNAVEUR LONDON UK IMMEDIATE UNN

USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GE IMMEDIATE UNN

USNMR SHAPE BE IMMEDIATE UNN

AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE

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8. GREEK AMB PANAYOTACOS CHARGED THAT TURKEY COMMITTED AGGRESSION DESPITE ASSURANCES GIVEN TO SISCO AND WITHOUT CONSULTATIONS WITH CO-GUARANTORS. TURKEY'S AIM IS PERMANENT OCCUPATION OF LARGE PORTION OF CYPRUS AND CREATING INFRA-STRUCTION OF PARTITION. GREECE EXERCISING RIGHT OF SELF-DEFENSE. THRIKISH FORCES SHOULD BE CONFINED WITHIN TURKISH ENCLAVES, OTHERWISE GREECE WOULD CONSIDER ITSELF VICTIM OF AGGRESSION.

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9. TURKISH AMB OLCAY, WHO CITED PRIMIN ECEVIT'S STATE-MENT, SAID TURKISH ARMED ACTION AHD BEEN TAKEN ONLY AFTER OTHER MEANS EXHAUSTED. GREECE HAD ORGANIZED COUP, WHILE TURKEY, ACTING WITH RESTRAINT, HAD ACTED LEGALLY AS CO-GUARANTOR AND TOT RESTORE CONSTITUTIONALITY TO ISLAND AS WHOLE.

HE HOPED UK REP HAD LAPXED INADVERTENTLY IN FAILING TO MENTION KEEPING IN TOUCH WITH TURKISH COMMUNITY REGARDING TALKS. HE HOPED GREEK EMPHASIS ON TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY DID NOT REFLECT DIFFERENT ATTITUDE REGARDING PARTITION AND ENOSIS.

10. CYPRUS REP REPLIED THAT TREATY COVERED PEACEFUL ACTIONS, NOT BOMBING OF CYPRUS OR ACTS OF AGGRESSION AGAINST IT, AND HE MENTIONED TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OUT OF FEAR THAT TURKEY EXPLOITING SITUATION TO ENFORCE PARTITION.

11. UK REP RICHARD INTERVENED TO STRESS THAT RES HAD TWO PRINCIPLE ELEMENTS: CALL FOR CEASEFIRE AND FOR NEGOTIATIONS PROPOSED BY UK. HE INVITED GREECE AND TURKEY REPS TO ADDRESS THESE TWO POINTS. ONLY TURKEY REP OLCAY RESPONDED, SAYING THAT, AT THIS STAGE, HE MERELY COULD AFFIRM FAITHFUL TRANSMISSION OF RES TO ANKARA.

12. SC PRES PEREZ CONCLUDED MEETING BY NOTING THAT COUNCIL HAD CALLED FOR CEASEFIRE; HOWEVER, SITUATION REMAINED CRITICAL, AND HE COULD NOT FORESEE WHAT FURTHER COUNCIL ACTION MIGHT BE REQUIRED. HE ADJOURNED MEETING WITHOUT SETTING DATE FOR NEXT SESSION.

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